DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 346 725 FL 020 433

TITLE	Seeking Educational Equity for Linguistic Minority Students.
INSTITUTION	Massachusetts State Dept. of Education, Quincy. Bureau of Equal Educational Opportunity.
PUB DATE	May 86
NOTE	57p.
PUB TYPE	Reports - Descriptive (141)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC03 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Bilingual Education; Demography; *Educationally Disadvantaged; Educational Needs; Elementary Secondary Education; *Equal Education; Immigrants; *Limited English Speaking; *Minority Groups; *School Desegregation; Special Needs Students; *State Action; State Programs
IDENTIFIERS	Language Minorities; *Massachusetts

ABSTRACT

In view of controversial reaction to reports of school desegregation in Massachusetts, this paper compiles several documents regarding the overall educational needs of linguistic minority students in Massachusetts. They include the following: (1) Report on Linguistic Minorities and Transitional Bilingual Education (April 1986) by acting commissioner Rhoda E. Schneider, which was approved by the state board of education; (2) an essay, "Educational Equity for Linguistic Minority Students: A Comprehensive Approach to Our Leading Civil Rights Challenge" (April 1986), prepared by Charles L. Glenn, Director of equal educational opportunity for the bureau's annual desegregation report; (3) an essay, "Bilingual Education: An Equity Perspective," by Charles Glenn, for the National Council on Bilingual Education (November 1985); and (4) an article, "Two-Way Bilingual Education," by Charles Glenn, written for "The Commonwealth" (April 1985). Topics covered include demography, responses to immigration, "new" linguistic minority students, indications of failure (e.g., basic skills assessment, the Boston Monitoring Report), and elements of a comprehensive program. The documents were compiled in hopes that Chapter 636 funds could be granted in 1986-87 to projects that help meet the educational needs and reduce the isolation of linguistic minority students. (LB)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED346725

Massachusetts Department of Education
Bureau of Equal Educational Opportunity

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
Charles Glenn
TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)"

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)
X This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.
☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.
• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

Seeking Educational Equity For Linguistic Minority Students

May 1986

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

MASSACHUSETTS BOARD OF EDUCATION

Mr. James F. Crain, Gloucester, *Chairperson*
Rev. Paul V. Garrity, Lowell, *Vice Chairperson*

Mr. Christopher H. Collins, Millis
Ms. Milca R. Gonzalez, Shrewsbury
Mr. James R. Grande, Hanover
Mr. Joseph E. Killory, Sandwich
Mr. Sol Kolack, Newton
Mrs. Anne S. Larkin, Bedford
Mrs. Loretta L. Roach, Boston
Mr. Joseph C. Savery, Lee
Ms. Mary Ellen Smith, Boston
Mrs. Mary C. Wright, Falmouth

Ms. Rhoda E. Schneider, *Esquire, Acting Commissioner of Education, Secretary*

Mr. Joseph Finnegan, *Acting Chancellor,* Board of Regents, Ex Officio

Bureau of Equal Educational Opportunity
Charles L. Glenn, *Director*
Michael J. Alves, *Project Director*
Paula T. Willis, *Editor*
Franklin F. Banks
Ivonne LaLyre
Larnders Roy
Maureen M. Wark

Produced by the Bureau of Operational Support
Cecilia M. DiBella, *Director*
Susan Gardner, *Publications/Communications Coordinator*
Susan M. Stille, *Typographist*

The Massachusetts Department of Education insures equal employment/educational opportunities/affirmative action regardless of race, color, cre national origin or sex, in compliance with Title VI and Title IX, or handicap, in compliance with section 504.

Publication #14434—54—200—5-86 Approved by Daniel D. Carter, *State Purchasing Agent.*

INTRODUCTION

In April 1986 the Board of Education approved, by a unanimous vote, a set of eleven recommendations offered by Acting Commissioner Rhoda E. Schneider to advance educational equity for linguistic minority students.

These recommendations were based, in part, on a policy paper which I included in our annual desegregation report, entitled **Making Urban Schools Effective** (April 1986). They were based also on a study of the problem of long-term (six or more years) retention of students in Spanish and Italian bilingual programs in Boston. This study, in turn, was a follow-up to an analysis which I prepared in May 1985 on the same issue, for submission to the Federal District Court.

Intense controversy surrounded the approval, by the Board, of the May 1985 report, and response to the reports and the Board's action in April 1986 has been almost as heated. In both cases the impression was created that bilingual education was under attack or had been officially discredited. Nothing could be further from the truth.

The results of our efforts, over the past decade, to educate Hispanic students in Massachusetts are unsatisfactory. This is not to deny that much good education has taken place, or that bilingual programs have played an important part. But we must not be satisfied with the present level of academic failure. We will not do better until we face the problem honestly, and without shifting the responsibility to the characteristics of the students. It is our schooling which must meet their needs, not the other way around.

In the interest of putting the focus where it should be, on the overall educational needs of linguistic minority students, we are reprinting here several documents.

They include:

- Rhoda Schneider's recommendations which were approved by the Board in April, page 3.

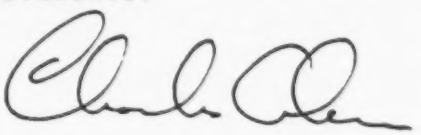
- my essay, "Educational Equity for Linguistic Minority Students" (April 1986), prepared for our **Annual Desegregation Report**, page 7.

- my essay, "Bilingual Education: An Equity Perspective" (November 1985), prepared for the National Council on Bilingual Education, page 45.

- my article, "Two-way Bilingual Education" (April 1985), written for **The Commonwealth**, page 52.

The Bureau of Equal Educational Opportunity anticipates granting at least $1.5 million in Chapter 636 funds in 1986-87 to projects which help to meet the educational needs and reduce the isolation of linguistic minority students. Having these documents available should help the many educators who will be implementing such programs to understand what we have in mind.

Our hope is that they will also be stimulated to join with us in the discussion of what educational equity means for linguistic minority students.



Charles L. Glenn
Director, Equal Educational Opportunity

The Commonwealth of Massachusetts
Department of Education

1385 Hancock Street, Quincy, Massachusetts 02169

April 10, 1986

MEMORANDUM

TO: Members of the Board of Education

FROM: Rhoda E. Schneider, Acting Commissioner

RE: Reports on Linguistic Minorities and Transitional Bilingual Education (TBE)

There are four reports on the education of linguistic minority students on your April agenda. This memorandum describes the purpose and origin of each report and how they relate to each other. It also attempts to define - in the form of tentative recommendations - the major policy issues raised by the reports.

The first report is Charles Glenn's "Educational Equity for Linguistic Minority Students," a section of his Bureau's annual report to the Board. It gives an historical perspective and conceptual framework to the state's efforts on behalf of linguistic minority students, discusses ways in which those efforts have fallen short, and suggests ways to improve the education of these students - and their effective integration.

The second report, requested by the Board last spring, gives the results of a state-wide survey of TBE programs conducted this year by Mr. Mazzone and his staff. Whereas Dr. Glenn's report deals with all linguistic minority students, Mr. Mazzone's deals only with those enrolled in TBE programs. Further, Mr. Mazzone's report is largely statistical; qualitative issues are raised only by implication.

The third report, also requested by the Board last spring, is still narrower in focus, and deals with students in Boston's TBE programs. It summarizes the results of an intensive monitoring effort to follow up on the findings of Report #5 to the Federal District Court, conducted by the staff of the Greater Boston Regional Center under Marlene Godfrey's and Jill McCarthy's direction. The report focuses on three groups of students (identified in the Fifth Boston Monitoring Report) who remain in TBE programs considerably beyond the normal three years.

-3-

Finally, the fourth report, prepared by Eduardo B. Carballo and Catherine Walsh, examines the effectiveness of Transitional Bilingual Education (TBE) for Hispanic students in five school districts in the Commonwealth. The variables studied were place of birth, socio economic status, number of years in TBE, district mobility, attendance, test scores, academic averages and remediation.

Given this wealth of information and the complexities of the issues, I have attempted to bring together in one list the major implicit and explicit recommendations of the three reports. I have also tried to show the relationships among the various recommendations in order to provide a coherent basis for the Board's policy discussions. While any Board action on these recommendations would be premature, your reaction to them will give me and the Department staff a sense of direction.

Tentative Recommendations

1. There should be annual written and oral assessments, developed by the Department, of the academic achievement and English proficiency of all students enrolled in TBE programs. This assessment should serve as the basis for all promotional and mainstreaming decisions.

2. Individual learning plans should be developed for all students enrolled in TBE programs for more than three years. These plans should be based on the results of previous annual assessments and other student records, and must include descriptions of the procedures and timelines for mainstreaming, and descriptions of appropriate support services.

3. Either all students enrolled in TBE programs for more than three years should be required to take the state Basic Skills Tests and Curriculum Assessments or the decision as to whether or not a student will take these tests at any point in the program should be made on the basis of the annual assessments. (The Board will need to make a decision on this issue in May when it votes on the testing regulations.)

4. In conjunction with the first administration of the state Basic Skills test, or through a separate research project, the Department should attempt to determine the major reasons why students retained in TBE programs beyond three years fail to attain sufficient mastery of English to be mainstreamed.

5. Concurrently with this study, the Department should continue its efforts to identify individual schools and programs which have been particularly successful in mainstreaming TBE students. Information about these schools and programs should be disseminated, and the Department should assist other schools in adopting or adapting demonstrably successful practices.

6. With state assistance, schools should provide continuing support services, remediation, and English language instruction as needed to students who have been mainstreamed, as well as to linguistic minority students who have never been enrolled in TBE programs.

7. The Department must ensure that school districts maintain accurate and up-to-date records of test results, assessment results and academic progress of all limited English proficient students as required by the Chapter 71A regulations and Lau agreements and that they be required to report this information annually to the Department.

8. The state should provide funding for the pre-service and in-service training of TBE and ESL teachers in areas of critical need (e.g., pre-service training for TBE teachers in certain Southeast Asian languages; inservice training for ESL teachers certified under the pre-1982 regulations). Such training should also be available for regular classroom teachers serving linguistic minority students.

9. The Department should actively encourage optional language maintenance programs for English-proficient linguistic minority students. These programs should be carried out by - or in close conjunction with - regular foreign language instruction in the schools. The assignment of students to these programs should not contribute to increased ethnic or racial isolation. The Department should re-study the formula for Chapter 70 reimbursement for students in such language maintenance programs.

10. The Department should give priority to funding early childhood education programs which focus on the needs of linguistic minority students and which are located in districts with large percentages of such students.

11. The Department should undertake during FY 1987 and FY 1988 a comprehensive statewide evaluation of TBE and ESL programs. This evaluation should focus on the long-term educational effectiveness of the program, and should include recommended actions for improvement.

RES/kk

EDUCATIONAL EQUITY FOR LINGUISTIC MINORITY STUDENTS

A Comprehensive Approach to our Leading Civil Rights Challenge

by Charles L. Glenn

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Public schools in Massachusetts are not providing an effective education for thousands of linguistic minority students. As a number of recent reports have pointed out, a high proportion of our Hispanic students are dropping out of school after years of academic failure and frustration, while others are relegated to courses of study with little "pay-off". Similar problems may be arising for other language groups that are less easily tracked through the racial/ethnic categories used in school reports.

The Commonwealth has taken the lead among the states in addressing a number of equity issues, including race desegregation (1965) and equal access unlimited by race, sex, religion or national origin (1972). These laws and their vigorous enforcement have produced unquestionable benefits for linguistic minority students. Doors have been opened, rights have been secured, curriculum and attitudes have changed. It is clear, however, that we have not done enough. We must not, in the words of the old freedom song, invite Hispanic or Cape Verdean or Haitian students to "sit at the Freedom Table," then put nothing in front of them to eat!

Educational equity is more than "equal opportunity" with unequal means. It must include an effective education for each student. We have assumed for too long that teaching

the rudiments of the English language exhausted our responsibility to make education effective for linguistic minority students. The fourteen years that have passed since our pioneering Transitional Bilingual Education Act was enacted, years in which thousands of dedicated teachers and administrators have worked to implement it for tens of thousands of students, have demonstrated that we must see that responsibility in a much broader context. The analysis which follows is not about bilingual education as such, but about that broader context of educational equity.

After a discussion of the enrollment trends for the major linguistic minority groups in our schools, the report reviews the performance of Hispanic students in the most recent basic skills assessment, and other indicators of our failure to provide many of them with an effective education. This discussion is not as complete as would be desirable, since no standardized achievement data are available statewide for most linguistic minority students. Indeed, the concurrent review of the large bilingual program in Boston, a follow-up to Court-ordered monitoring in 1985, reveals tremendous confusion about when and how to assess such achievement.

The report then suggests ten elements of a comprehensive approach to meeting our educational responsibilities to linguistic minority students. This is by no means a definitive list; the urban educators around the Commonwealth who reviewed it in March made a number of additional suggestions, some of which it was possible to incorporate within a document of reasonable length. Some would give a different emphasis or priority, though none of the elements was rejected as inappropriate or contrary to their experience and judgment. These are the elements that stood out from an equal educational opportunity perspective:

- Each linguistic minority student, whether "limited English-speaking" or not, should have a frequently-updated educational program that is based upon an assessment of his or her language development needs.

- Students with previous formal schooling in another language should be able to continue to master subject matter in that language while learning English.

- Early childhood programs, including those that reach into the home, are of critical importance, and represent perhaps our best new opportunity to achieve educational equity. The role of native

language and of English in such programs requires careful planning.

- Well-designed bilingual education programs are of tremendous value in creating the cognitive and linguistic basis for the mastery of English. They can also play an important role in fostering an appreciation of our diverse cultural heritages, a responsibility that they share with regular programs.

- Development of a full mastery of the English language is a long-term process, and should continue for years beyond the point when it is appropriate for a student to be mainstreamed into a regular course of study. Our schools need more fully-trained teachers of English as a Second Language to work both within and beyond bilingual programs.

- Linguistic minority students, including those whose primary language is English, should receive support as needed in language development within the context of regular classroom instruction. Teachers require in-service training in how to provide such support, and to integrate it with other activities.

- Students should be able to move flexibly back and forth between separate bilingual programs and the regular course of study, as they are ready for more challenge or need more support.

- Bilingual programs must not become "academic dead-ends" in which students continue for year after year without developing sufficient English-language proficiency to benefit from the regular course of study.

- Language and cultural maintenance should be available on an optional basis for all linguistic minority students, including those who have been mainstreamed or have not required a transitional bilingual program. The development of a number of magnet schools in which two languages and cultures are equally valued and taught to an integrated student body is a step forward for the quality of education.

- The information currently available on the academic progress of linguistic minority students in Massachusetts is woefully insufficient. Accurate and usable assessments are needed at every level, from the classroom teacher to the State Board, in the interest of providing an effective program to each student.

There are two general policy conclusions that may be drawn from this review. The first is that we must become much more clear about our expectations, much more willing to assess on an on-going basis how linguistic minority students are doing. It is unacceptable to deduce their educational difficulties from a high drop-out rate! Local and state accountability for results should become far more explicit.

The second is that the process of language acquisition is not a simple matter of learning to "get by," but requires on-going developmental support well beyond the point when a separate bilingual program ceases to be an appropriate placement. This means that the entire K-12 curriculum must provide opportunities to increase mastery of English, even for students for whom it is their "first language." The responsibility cannot be left to bilingual program staff alone; and additional resources for language development support should not be limited to students in bilingual programs.

This leads, in turn, to the recognition that all of the staff of each school serving linguistic minority students should acquire a sound understanding of the principles of language acquisition and the teaching skills needed to support it. Some should develop advanced professional skills in the teaching of English as a Second Language, a specialty too often practiced without sufficient training.

The report concludes by calling upon bilingual education specialists to bring their skills and cultural sensitivity to bear upon improving the overall effectiveness of our schools which enroll linguistic minority students. Only by such a comprehensive approach will real educational equity be achieved for these students, and an enriched education for every student.

INTRODUCTION

For at least the last five years the Bureau of Equal Educational Opportunity has been stressing that the major equity issues in education in Massachusetts have to do with linguistic minority--especially but by no means exclusively Hispanic--students who are not in bilingual programs. We have urged that attention be given to students who have completed bilingual programs and are having difficulty in the "mainstream," to Hispanic high school students, to refugee students, to "low incidence populations" of students of a language group too small locally to require a bilingual program.

This is by no means to say, of course, that the state can relax its vigilance about issues of access, or the educational experience of Black students, or the continuing challenge of racial integration which goes beyond the numbers. It is precisely in seeking solutions to these problems--and they are by no means resolved--that we have seen the results of our efforts limited again and again by difficulties related to language. How can the kind of integration and mutual respect that a dozen desegregating cities are seeking to foster become real, for example, if children are rigidly separated by language? What is the significance of increasing access for minority students to a Boston Latin School or other outstanding program if a high proportion of them are ill-prepared to take advantage of the opportunity? If our equity efforts are not to be limited, in their impact, to a fortunate few for whom race or national origin is the only barrier to opportunity, they must be concerned with the effectiveness of our schools.

The discussion that follows assumes that educational effectiveness has two components which must be carefully balanced and adjusted for each student: one is support , the other is challenge. Only an educational program which provides adequate support but which also expects and challenges a student to achieve excellence can be considered effective. Such a program is the right of every student, and it has been affirmed specifically for linguistic minority students in the Lau and subsequent federal court decisions. That is what this report is concerned about.

This concern has several sources. One is simply the growth of linguistic minority population in our schools; in the face of a sharp decline in White enrollment over the past decade, and generally level Black enrollment (itself concealing an increase in the number of Haitian and Cape Verdean students), the numbers of Hispanic and Asian students have increased rapidly.

There were 27,750 Hispanic students in 1974 (the first year when the state racial census requested this information), compared with 44,493 in 1985, for an increase of 60%. The one-year increase from 1984 to 1985 is 2,884, or 7%. Asian enrollment, though smaller, has increased even more dramatically, from 5,937 in 1974 to 15,901 in 1984 and 18,014 in 1985, for a total increase of 203% and a one-year increase of 13%. By contrast, White enrollment has declined from 1,101,033 in 1974 to 725,578 in 1985, or -34%.

Related to this population increase is a change in the demographic profile of linguistic minority students. A decade ago newly-arrived Hispanic families tended to have young children, heavily concentrated in the elementary grades; those children have grown up through the grades, so that now nearly 5% of the ninth graders in public schools are Hispanic, compared with 6% in grades 4-6 and 6.7% in grade 1. At the 12th grade, however, only 2.8% of the students are Hispanic. It is at the secondary level that the adequacy of our educational arrangements is found wanting by a dramatic rate of educational failure and school-leaving. So long as most Hispanic students were in the elementary grades it was possible to be somewhat complacent about the efforts that the public schools were making on their behalf; as they reach--and leave--high school we must judge those efforts by the results.

This leads to a third source of concern, discussed in more detail below: several studies indicate that linguistic minority--and especially Hispanic--students are not deriving the benefits from our educational programs that their parents have a right to expect. Recent national studies show that this is not a problem limited to Massachusetts, but we believe that Massachusetts should be finding the way to a just and effective solution, as it has to similarly difficult challenges such as special education and desegregation.

As the number of refugees in Massachusetts has increased since the end of the Vietnam War, Maureen Wark of this Bureau has served as the Department's liaison to the various groups working to meet the needs of Southeast Asian and other newly-arrived students. Our 1985 Report noted the extreme difficulty of meeting these needs in Lowell and other urban systems. Although the focus of the discussion that follows will be on the needs of linguistic minority students who have been in our schools for a number of years and are experiencing difficulties, the recommendations are intended to assure that we do a more effective job in serving the new language groups that are only now entering our schools.

Finally, the development of desegregation plans in an increasing number of school systems whose "minority" students are predominantly Hispanic and Asian rather than Black has forced the Bureau's attention to the continuing educational issues in newly-desegregated schools. Nearly 80% of the Hispanic students in Massachusetts attend schools that benefit from Chapter 636 (state desegregation) funds. Several systems--Holyoke, Springfield, Worcester-which have implemented elementary desegregation are now directing their efforts and Chapter 636 funds to strengthening secondary education for Hispanic students. This report draws heavily upon what these and other Massachusetts urban school systems have learned from experience.

WHO ARE "LINGUISTIC MINORITY" STUDENTS?

In general, linguistic minority students are those who come under the protection of the language in Chapter 622, the Massachusetts Equal Educational Opportunity Law, which forbids discrimination on the basis of "national origin." In practical terms we have from the start interpreted this to mean students who are vulnerable to discrimination or unequal opportunity because of their foreign birth, or that of their parents, or the language spoken in their home.

There is no exact way of determining the numbers of such students in the public school population statewide. The annual school census asks for a report on "students whose first language is not English," and 64,960 such students were reported in October 1985 (out of a total public school enrollment of 845,430).

Language	Number	% of Total in State
Spanish	31,022	48%
Portuguese	12,646	19%
Chinese	4,150	6%
French & Creole	2,481	4%
Khmer	2,477	4%
Vietnamese	2,078	3%
Cape Verdean	1,981	3%
Italian	1,820	3%
Greek	1,657	3%
Lao	723	1%

It is important to note that this category is not identical with that of students entitled to bilingual education. The

annual census also asks for the number of "students unable to perform ordinary classwork in English." This is a narrower category, and it is important to note that the proportion of students of a language group who are limited in their proficiency in English varies widely.

Language	Limited English	% of Total in State
Spanish	14,174	56%
Portuguese	2,547	10%
Khmer	1,779	7%
Chinese	1,522	6%
French & Creole	1,123	4%
Cape Verdean	973	4%
Vietnamese	894	4%
Italian	389	2%
Greek	375	1%
Lao	373	1%

The proportion of students in each language group who are "unable to perform ordinary classwork in English" reflects a variety of factors, including the recentness of immigration and the extent of assimilation. Italian immigrants, for example, are able to assimilate into an Italian-American community where English is used by preference; undoubtedly this promotes the rapid learning of English without "culture-shock".

Language	Proportion Limited English-speaking
Khmer	72%
Lao	52%
Cape Verdean	49%
Spanish	46%
French & Creole	45%
Vietnamese	43%
All language groups	39%
Chinese	37%
Greek	23%
Italian	21%
Portuguese	20%

Three sub-groups may be identified on the basis of this measure of assimilation. First are the recent refugees from Southeast Asia, those who speak Khmer, Lao, Vietnamese,

Hmong or other languages. We have recently become aware of around thirty students in Boston from Laos who speak Kmhmu, a language that only recently was given a written form. To these must be added those "ethnic Chinese" who are among the refugees from Vietnam.

The number of Khmer-speaking students from Cambodia has been increasing dramatically, from 1121 in 1983 to 2477 two years later, for an increase of 121% in this short period. One encouraging sign is that the proportion "unable to perform ordinary classwork in English" has dropped in that time from 85% to 72%.

The number of Lao-speaking students increased more gradually, from 640 to 723, or 13%, with the "limited English-proficient" proportion dropping from 60% to 52%. The number of Vietnamese-speaking increased from 1601 to 2078, or 30%, but the number "unable to perform ordinary classwork in English" actually declined by 6%, and the proportion from 59% to 43%!

For these victims of war, a dangerous flight, and refugee camps our bilingual programs have offered a welcome and support that goes beyond language development. Many of the students and their families are concerned to make the transition to English as quickly as possible, especially for those who are of secondary-school age but, as a result of circumstances, have received little formal schooling. Although a high proportion continue to need language programs, the figures cited above indicate a rapid rate of assimilation.

A separate section of this Report, by Maureen Wark, discusses current issues affecting these refugee students, including projects funded by the Bureau in Lowell and Revere.

A second sub-group consists of the Italian, Greek and Portuguese-speaking students whose families have come to Massachusetts seeking economic opportunities and to join well-established communities resulting from the immigration of the period 1880-1914. The number of such students who are "unable to perform ordinary classwork in English" has dropped, since 1980, by 52% among Italians, 31% among Portuguese, and 17% among Greeks.

Bilingual education serves a transitional function for these students, though many may remain in bilingual programs after achieving proficiency in English for the sake of language and cultural maintenance--and, in Boston, perhaps to avoid desegregation. There do not appear to be serious equity issues involving this group of students.

The Boston Public Schools have pointed with pride to the number of seniors graduating from bilingual programs who intend to go on to higher education. In June 1984 there were 209 such students, of whom 48 or 23% were Hispanic, though Hispanic students represented 53% of the enrollment in the bilingual program. Stated another way, graduating seniors intending to go on to higher education represented 1.2% of the Hispanic enrollment in the Boston bilingual program, but 7.5% of the Italian enrollment and 7% of the Vietnamese enrollment. Averaging the figures together could create the impression that we are serving all linguistic minority students well, but closer analysis shows an equity issue for Hispanic but not for Italian or Vietnamese students.

The third group consists of Cape Verdean, Haitian and Hispanic students for whom race adds a complicating factor, and many of whose families have come not so much seeking opportunities as fleeing economic hardship. For these students, whose families may encounter discrimination in housing and employment, our education efforts are much less successful.

The Cape Verdean-speaking enrollment has increased by 62% since 1980, and by 26% since 1983, but the proportion "unable to perform ordinary classwork in English" has dropped from 60% to 49% since 1980.

We can only approximate the Haitian enrollment, by combining those students reported as speaking Creole and those reported as speaking French, while recognizing that the latter includes some non-Haitian students. This combined figure has increased by 77% since 1980, with the proportion "unable to perform ordinary classwork in English climbing from 32% to 45%. It seems likely that the earlier figure reflects a much higher proportion of non-Haitian students than does the latter. The number of "limited English-proficient" students has jumped by 43% in the last two years.

The number of students whose first language is Spanish has increased by 24% since 1980; this reflects an increase of more than six thousand students. As we will see below, there is a larger ethnic category of "Hispanic" students; with no other group are we able to correlate the ethnic and language data.

To an extent impossible to determine precisely there are political as well as "economic refugees" among these

groups; for example, the Hispanic community in Massachusetts includes families or their descendants who left their native lands in opposition to Batista and to Castro, to Allende and to Pinochet, to the present governments of El Salvador and Nicaragua. The great majority, however, are here for economic reasons, and for many this has meant taking the least rewarding jobs and living in the most dilapidated housing; it is their children, by and large, who are having the most difficulty in school.

The focus of this discussion, then, will be upon those linguistic minority students--Cape Verdean, Haitian, and Hispanic--for whom we have not managed to provide equal educational opportunity. Most attention will be devoted to Hispanic students, simply because far more information is available about their needs.

Two qualifications must be stated here: natives of Puerto Rico are of course citizens by right, and not immigrants; there are many students of each of the groups discussed who are outstandingly successful in school, and exhibit none of the problems discussed. No attempt will be made to add these qualifications at every point in the discussion when they might be appropriate.

Better information is available for Hispanic students than for the other groups because this is also a racial/ethnic group reported on the racial census and on the Basic Skills Assessment. There are currently 44,493 Hispanic students (as noted above), of whom 31,022 (70%) speak Spanish as their primary language and 14,174 (32%) are unable to perform ordinary classwork in English. In other words, less than one third of the Hispanic students in Massachusetts are entitled to bilingual education under state law; this should be kept in mind in the discussion with follows.

"Asian" students form another racial/ethnic category, one that includes students of Chinese ancestry who may be third or fourth generation Bostonians and newly arrived Khmer, Lao and Vietnamese-speaking refugees. Of 18,014 Asian students in public schools, 9,428 (52%) speak a language other than English as their primary language, and 4,568 (25%) are "unable to perform ordinary classwork in English."

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Responding to the Post-Civil War Immigration

The problems that we face today were of concern to the Board of Education during the first great period of immigration to Massachusetts of families whose first language was not English, in the latter part of the nineteenth century. In its 1893 Annual Report the Board noted that state law required that all children be "instructed in the English language," but that a number of parochial schools provided instruction in the native languages of their parishioners. "Language is the great unifier," the Board observed, "Separate languages mean separate historical training, separate or diverse traditions, and both social and sectional clashings. Without a common language we cannot become a nation. Without the execution of our school laws we cannot attain to a common language ..."

In 1914 the Massachusetts Commission on Immigration issued its report on current efforts to meet the educational and other needs of the newcomers. The Commission had visited 39 parochial schools in nineteen communities which taught in a language other than English, and reported that "the almost universal rule in these schools is to teach in English for half a day, and in Polish, Italian, Portuguese, French or Greek for half a day. These bilingual schools, of which there are over 90 in Massachusetts, present a problem of much difficulty, involving both religious and national motives deeply rooted in the heart and mind of the foreign-speaking peoples, and entitled to sympathetic recognition by the entire community. . . That the knowledge of a second language has cultural advantages is beyond dispute, and should be encouraged . . [but for the children] the far more practical and far more difficult problem of bread-winning is the one to which . . . they will be forced to devote their unremitting attention. It is therefore of vital importance to them, as well as to the State, that they should be fitted in the best possible manner for this . . . in the secular instruction in these schools, the study of English should be given first place, and . . . all studies, except religion and the native language of the children, should be conducted in the English language."

The Commission also discussed the programs provided by public schools. "Twenty-six cities and towns in the State report that 'steamer' classes are provided for those children who are above the primary age when they arrive. . . Where excellent methods are used and proper provision is made for the separate instruction of those who have had

little schooling in Europe and of those who have had much, English is learned in an incredibly short time." To be deplored, however, was the practice in some schools where "immigrant children are placed in a 'special' class with the backward and subnormal children for whom quite different methods are needed, and a grave injustice is thus done to both groups."

What we would now call "multi-cultural education" was a part of the program in 1914. The Commission noted that "it was long ago recognized that all teaching must be carefully adapted to background of each child's life. To know this background the teachers must study the modifications of the old-world customs and traditions as they are found in Boston, New Bedford and Springfield. They must know the parents as well as the children; their past as well as their present. . . we need very carefully worked out plans for teaching respect for the virtues that these immigrant parents possess."

"The large number of these children warrants the most careful working out of a theory of how the schools can 'educate' the immigrant children along American lines and at the same time not destroy the traditions around which their whole family life is built. . . in Fall River the fathers of a few more, and in Boston of a few less, than one-third of all the public-school children came from non-English speaking countries. Failure to take into consideration, in the planning of the work and play of these children, the history of these immigrant people and their life and work in America means a needlessly imperfect education for all such children."

These extensive quotations from a state report in 1914 serve as a reminder that concern for educational equity and sensitivity to cultural differences are not a discovery on which we can congratulate ourselves; leaders of the "Progressive Era" saw at least as clearly as we do what justice and democratic pluralism require.

After World War I--at the close of the most extraordinary period of trans-oceanic voluntary migration in history--Commissioner of Education Payson Smith noted that "approximately 350,000 of the citizens and prospective citizens of the State are unable to make use of the common medium of communication of the people," and called for more vigorous and systematic State leadership. "All of the cities and towns working together in a State program for the accomplishment of results such as the enlightened public opinion of a progressive State will increasingly demand is the imperative need of the Commonwealth."

Notable local efforts occurred in this period, despite the climate of xenophobia that was prevalent in Massachusetts, as elsewhere. Boston Superintendent Frank V. Thompson (as noted in our Report last year) gave national leadership on the humane and effective education of the children of immigrants. The Oliver School in Lawrence was cited for an "education in citizenship" which made the school itself a model of responsible decision-making by students, with projects for each grade, pre-figuring the City Magnet School in Lowell.

The "New" Linguistic Minority Students

The sharp restrictions on immigration imposed by Congress in 1924 and again in 1952 (over President Truman's veto) had a direct impact on the agenda of Massachusetts schools and of the Board: the needs of linguistic minority students were no longer a major issue. Even when the first large-scale migration of American citizens speaking a language other than English, from Puerto Rico, began after World War II, relatively few came to Massachusetts. In 1960 there were 612,574 Puerto Ricans in New York City, but only 995 in Boston; by 1970 there were 817,712 in New York City and 7,335 in Boston, with 24,561 in all of Massachusetts.

Despite this relatively small population (to which should be added a thousand or more Cubans), Massachusetts took an early lead in seeking to meet the needs of Hispanic children. Opinion was shocked to learn, in 1972, that the rate of poverty among Puerto Ricans in Boston was higher than that in any other major mainland city. The "scandal" of hundreds of Hispanic children not attending school was uncovered by Sister Francis Georgia Vicente and other community workers, while studies by Dr. Mona Hull and other psychologists revealed that many Hispanic students of normal intelligence were being assigned to "special classes" in the public schools. At the same time, the Hispanic Office for Planning and Evaluation (HOPE) and local anti-poverty agencies issued reports noting the many and complex needs of Hispanic youth.

Meanwhile, the liberalization of immigration restrictions in 1965 led to an increasing population of Chinese, Portuguese, Greek and other foreign-born children in the schools. Many of them arrived after a number of years of schooling in their native lands, but with little or no English. In 1971 the Bureau of Equal Educational Opportunity undertook the

first survey of the number of students speaking a language other than English, and employed Sister Francis Georgia as "Advocate for Linguistic Minorities," to begin to press for effective state and local policies to meet their needs.

As a Puerto Rican parent told the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights in the early seventies, his children were "practically wasting their time because they are not learning anything. . . . What good does it do to sit there in front of the teacher and just look at her face? . . They don't learn anything because they don't understand what she is saying." A 1970 study reported that in New England 25% of the Hispanic students had been held back at least three grades in school, and 50% at least two grades, while only 12% were in the correct grade for their age.

In response to such problems nationwide, the U. S. Office for Civil Rights in 1970 notified school districts with more than 5% "national origin-minority group children" that, "Where inability to speak and understand the English language excludes [them] from effective participation in the educational program . ., the district must take affirmative steps to rectify the language deficiency in order to open its instructional program to these students. Such programs "must be designed to meet such language skill needs as soon as possible and must not operate as an educational dead-end or permanent track."

Massachusetts adopted the first state law in the nation to seek to address language-learning in a comprehensive way, the Transitional Bilingual Education Act of 1971. This statute calls for a determination, by local school committees, of which students are "incapable of performing ordinary classwork in English," and their placement in a program of transitional bilingual education "for a period of three years or until such time as he achieves a level of English language skills which will enable him to perform successfully in classes in which instruction is given only in English, whichever shall first occur." Under certain conditions individual children may remain longer than three years.

The statute also defines, at least in general terms, the pedagogy that local school systems are required to employ with students who require bilingual programs, in contrast with the general tendency of Massachusetts educational legislation.

This law, the Board's regulations and continuing support, and the efforts of local and state administrators have led

to the development of what is now a large-scale enterprise of bilingual education in Massachusetts. Some 20,000 students and nearly 1,200 teachers are enagaged in this enterprise, which combines language instruction with activities designed to develop an appreciation of cultural heritage. Visits to several hundred bilingual classrooms have made me appreciative of their caring and lively atmosphere.

Unfortunately, those who developed the 1971 legislation--and I share in this indictment--took too narrow a view of what would be required to extend full equal educational opportunity to linguistic minority students. For a time we tended to assume that the only issue remaining was to assure that bilingual programs were fully implemented. By the mid-seventies it was becoming apparent that attention was needed at the points where bilingual education intersected with special and vocational education, and by 1980 we were pointing out that Hispanic and other students who had completed bilingual programs or whose only language was English were experiencing unacceptably-high rates of academic failure.

In brief, bilingual education could not be, by itself , a sufficient vehicle to meet all of the needs of linguistic minority students, and attention must be given to the extent to which bilingual education programs prepare students for the challenges that they will encounter as they seek to take advantage of the opportunities available in secondary and higher education. Two recent studies--one of them as yet incomplete--focus attention on these issues.

INDICATORS OF OUR FAILURE

The Basic Skills Assessment

Under the Board of Education's Basic Skills Improvement Policy , an annual assessment is made of the number and proportion of students who meet minimum standards in the basic skills. Performance is measured in the early elementary grades (K-3), later elementary grades (4-6), and secondary grades (7-12). School systems determine what evaluation instruments will be used, and set the "minimum standard" for each skill; they also may exempt certain students from the program.

This last provision has the effect that the statewide assessment excludes a substantial proportion of the Hispanic

enrollment of the Commonwealth, those considered, by local school officials, incapable of performing ordinary classwork in English. In 1984-85, the following proportions of white and Hispanic students were exempted from the reading assessment:

	White	Hispanic
K-3	5%	38%
4-6	5%	36%
7-12	6%	35%

In other words, a pre-selection has eliminated more than one third of the Hispanic students, those who have not been "mainstreamed," from the assessment; we simply do not know how well they are doing.

Urban educators consulted during the preparation of this report singled out again and again the lack of solid achievement data as a serious hinderance to their efforts; we simply don't know enough, they said, about where we are doing a good job and where we need to improve. No data are available that would allow a judgment to be made as to the statewide achievement levels of students who remain in bilingual programs, or to compare achievement (in native language and in English) among school systems and schools. As the Hispanic Office of Planning and Evaluation put it in its 1984 report, **Hispanic Youth in Boston: In Search of Opportunities and Accountability**, "the basis for such an evaluation, even ten years after implementation [of bilingual programs], has yet to be laid."

Among those who were included in the assessment, Hispanic students had the highest failure rate. At the early elementary grades in 1984-85, the failure rates in reading (in English) were:

White	6% failed to meet minimum
Other (mostly Asian)	4%
Black	11%
Hispanic	16%

Performance was much more closely clustered in mathematics:

White	6% failed to meet minimum
Other	4%
Black	10%
Hispanic	12%

These early elementary results define the challenge faced by our schools, in part as a result of insufficient attention to early childhood programs for children who require language development support. It has been argued, in an attempt to reduce the significance of such results, that social class accounts for a large part of the failure rate among both Black and Hispanic students, and it would be foolish to deny a connection that has been so extensively demonstrated in the research. It has also been argued that the tests are "culturally biased," a charge which was more accurate a decade ago than today. From an equity perspective, however, the issue is not to find excuses but to define the problem and set about developing solutions. The substantial lag of "regular program" Hispanic students in these assessments is consistent across the Commonwealth, whatever measure is used by the various school systems, and it defines a problem which we have no right to ignore.

The later elementary (grades 4-6) results, to an even greater extent, are ones for which the education we provide must take a substantial responsibility. The great majority of Hispanic students in Massachusetts enter our schools (though they may transfer from one school system to another) in kindergarten or first grade, and we provide their entire formal education. The fact that the proportion who achieve the minimum standard on the basic skills actually declines in the upper elementary grades, when most have been enrolled for four or more years in a regular or bilingual class, is a serious indictment of our efforts and a challenge to make a much more concerted--and intelligent--effort to serve them.

The failure rates in upper elementary reading in 1984-85 were:

White	7%	failed to meet minimum
Other	11%	
Black	15%	
Hispanic	22%	

This was up from a 30% failure rate for Hispanic students in 1983-84, encouraging progress but still a very bleak picture.

There was a disproportionate falling-off in mathematics achievement as well:

White	8%	failed to meet minimum
Other	6%	
Black	23%	
Hispanic	20%	

Comparison of these "spreads" shows that the performance of Hispanic students by comparison with Black students, who tend to share with them social class and urban characteristics, is particularly low in reading. This is not startling, of course, but it should warn us against against explanations that attribute lack of achievement exclusively to social class factors. Hispanic students in the Commonwealth face a "double jeopardy" to which both class and language contribute, and they require very specific language development assistance that our present efforts are not providing to a sufficient extent. To face this fact is not "blaming the victim"; it is simple realism.

At the secondary level Hispanic students improve slightly in reading but fall considerably in mathematics performance. In reading:

White	9% failed to meet minimum
Other	16%
Black	20%
Hispanic	26%

By grades 7-12 most Hispanic students who took part in bilingual programs initially should have received a solid grounding in "academic language skills" and be performing at or above grade norms, according to researchers who support bilingual education. There are undoubtedly many for whom this has been true, in the years since 1972 when the Massachusetts Transitional Bilingual Law went into effect. Unfortunately, the performance of Hispanic students in general continues to lag behind that of other students, even after we have had the opportunity to educate them for eight or ten years! Clearly we are not doing enough, or we are not doing the right things to develop their native abilities.

The fact that the performance of "Other" (mostly Asian) students drops in reading at the secondary level supports the view that language development support should be provided on an on-going basis, well past the point of transition to a "mainstream" class for those students who are initially assigned to bilingual classes, and from the start for those who are not.

A serious gap in mathematics achievement opens up at the secondary level:

White	10% failed to meet minimum
Other	8%
Black	22%
Hispanic	24%

The statewide assessment program also requires school systems to report the proportion of students who have not achieved the minimum standards by the end of either the eleventh or twelfth grade (at the choice of the system). At first appearance the results for Hispanic students are much more encouraging on this measure.

For example, in the 1983-84 reading results:

White	1% failed to meet minimum
Other	6%
Black	8%
Hispanic	8%

Any satisfaction that we might derive from this result is limited by the fact that the Hispanic students who remain in high school for this "final evaluation" are the survivors of a catastrophic drop-out rate. While the statewide public school enrollment of White students in the 12th grade in October 1985 was 88.5% of that in the 9th grade, Hispanic 12th grade enrollment represented less than 48% of Hispanic 9th grade enrollment. Concretely, there were 3,721 Hispanic students in the 9th grade and 1,782 in the 12th.

In brief, the results of the statewide basic skills assessment indicate a serious failure to meet the educational needs of Hispanic students and to encourage the full development of their native abilities. This is especially the case at the critical upper-elementary level, where the gap between White and Hispanic students in reading has actually widened since 1980-81. These are students whose entire education, in most cases, has been in Massachusetts schools . . .

The Boston Monitoring Report

Perhaps the most helpful way of assessing the causes of academic failure--and finding remedies--is to take a "cohort" of students, all of a particular group rather

than simply those for whom the academic experience has been unsuccessful, and attempt to determine whether there are systematic differences between the educational services provided to those who succeed and those who fail. Such a study is going on at present.

Last June, in a special report ordered by the Federal District Court in the context of desegregation monitoring, the Board of Education raised some questions about students who appear to remain for excessive periods of time (six or more years) in bilingual programs in Boston. Either these students are not making the progress in the mastery of English-language skills intended by the Transitional Bilingual Law and Regulations, or they are not being appropriately "transitioned" upon mastery of those skills. The Board took note of two potential equity issues: denial of an effective transitional program of teaching English (as required by the Supreme Court's Lau decision as well as by state law) and racial segregation not necessitated by educational considerations. The available data did not permit conclusions, but the Board made a commitment to follow-up study and to action under its own statutory authority, if necessary. An in-depth review by the Regional Education Center has been under way since the summer to seek the reasons for this long-term retention in a separate program.

Meanwhile, this Bureau has begun to meet another part of the Board's commitment, to conduct a longitudinal study of a "cohort" of linguistic minority students over a number of years. The Boston Public Schools provided information on every Hispanic and Asian student who entered the system in 1980-81, with the status of that student in 1985-86. The data included test scores, language assessments, and school, program and grade placements in the original and most-recent year.

While this analysis is far from complete, an initial count demonstrates that long-term retention in a bilingual program is indeed the rule rather than the exception for Hispanic students. This is especially true of those who have been enrolled in the Boston schools for their entire education. Thus, of 676 Hispanic students who entered the system in kindergarten or grade 1 in 1980-81 and were assigned to a bilingual program, 461 or 68% were reported to be still in a bilingual program in 1985-86, their sixth year in the system. By contrast, of 205 Chinese, Vietnamese, Cambodian and Laotian students who were assigned to a bilingual program in 1980-81, only 39 or 19% were reported to be still in a bilingual program in 1985-86. [These figures do not include students no longer in the system.]

Hispanic students who entered the system after some years of schooling elsewhere were more likely to have been "mainstreamed". For example, of 264 students who entered in the third grade, 143 or 46% remained in bilingual programs in the sixth year.

Other Studies

The 1984 report by the Hispanic Office of Planning and Evaluation, mentioned above, notes that 18.5% of white Massachusetts residents aged 18 to 24, but 59.1% of Hispanics, had no high school diploma in 1980.

The same report notes that 8.3% of White youth aged 16 and 17 were not in school, compared with 22.2% of Hispanic youth.

Also in 1984, the National Commission on Secondary Education for Hispanics found that 40% of Hispanic students nationwide who leave school do so before entering high school, and that few Hispanics who drop out ever return to school.

Comparing the different sub-groups within the Hispanic population, the Commission found a median family income of $17,500 per year for Cubans, $15,200 for Mexican Americans, $15,500 for other Hispanics, and $9,900 for Puerto Ricans. Massachusetts was reported to have 6,617 Cuban residents in 1980, 7,385 Mexican American residents, 50,591 "other Hispanic" residents, and 76,450 Puerto Rican residents. Nationwide, the Puerto Rican population was the youngest of the Hispanic groups.

Ten years ago the United States Commission on Civil Rights issued a report entitled: **Puerto Ricans in the Continental United States: An Uncertain Future.** That future has in part arrived, and it is fair to say that many of the more dire predictions of the Commission have been realised. Despite much individual achievement, we have not found ways to overcome the employment and income problems faced by Puerto Rican migrants and by immigrants from Central America, and we have not provided an effective education to their children. Our data is much less adequate on Cape Verdean and Haitian students, who are generally reported among Black students without further distinction, but there is at least scattered evidence that they face many of the same problems.

The focus of this report is not on "bilingual education" as such, but on the broader question of our obligations, as educators, to the linguistic minority students who represent a steadily-growing proportion of our public school enrollment, and especially to those for whom their educational experiences in Massachusetts are not a success. It starts from the premise that the instructional strategy of "bilingual education," while of tremendous interest and value, is only one part of what must be a comprehensive effort, and that a failure to recognize this fact does an injustice to students and to bilingual program staff.

What would be the elements of a comprehensive effort to meet the educational needs of linguistic minority students?

A COMPREHENSIVE EFFORT

In Common with Other Students

First of all, of course, we must provide those qualities essential to good education for any student: safe, friendly schools with an atmosphere conducive to learning; teachers who believe that every student can learn; principals who serve as education leaders and set high expectations for themselves and for every member of the school community; curriculum that reflects the diversity of our society and provides an appropriate sequence of challenges to learn; continual monitoring of student needs which cannot be met within the ordinary course of instruction, and special arrangements to meet these needs; fair and consistent discipline; exposure to the great ideas and the historical events which have shaped our nation, and to the challenges which we face today; regular assessment of academic progress with remedial help to assure that no student falls too far behind; opportunities to develop special gifts and interests . . .

The list could go on, and could include the sensitivity that every member of the staff should have to the emotional needs many students bring with them to school, and the need of every student to be treated with respect; it could include the education in character that has always been a central purpose of schooling. It certainly would have to include the expectation that every student can learn, and that linguistic minority students have capacities equal to those of students whose only language is English.

Such general qualities of good schooling should be obvious, but unfortunately they may be missing for linguistic minority students, even those in schools that provide them adequately for others. For example, many principals act as though their educational responsibilities did not extend to bilingual classes, or to the relation between those classes and the rest of the school. Facilities may be inadequate--basements, coat rooms--or may segregate students in bilingual classes from their age-mates.

And if the conditions under which bilingual education is provided are often inadequate, our years of monitoring urban schools suggest that the situation of those linguistic minority students who are not in bilingual programs may be far worse. Special educational needs or gifts may go unrecognized because of their limitations in English (even if it is their "primary language"). Their frequently passive behavior makes it tempting for fellow-students to bully them and for staff to consign them to "slow average" groups or classes; remedial strategies may be used that are inappropriate for students for whom on-going linguistic development is the major need. Cultural signals are frequently misinterpreted on both sides.

Efforts to meet the needs of linguistic minority students must take care **at very least** to meet the standards that may be taken for granted for other students. This is not enough. As is often the case, identical treatment does not translate into real equity. Equity requires an effective education for each student, based upon unique qualities but also upon qualities that groups of students may share. Linguistic minority students have educational and developmental needs that require special attention. They also have strengths and potentialities, because of their double exposure to language and culture, that deserve encouragement.

TEM ELEMENTS OF A COMPREHENSIVE PROGRAM

1. Individual Educational Programs

The essential starting point should be a recognition that linguistic minority students vary in their needs even more widely than do other students, because of their different degrees of language acquisition in two languages (or **more**, in the case of many Cape Verdean or Haitian students). Their educational program should not be prescribed by the single test of language

proficiency. No single educational approach can meet the needs of all; more even than native English-speakers, they need a program that takes full account of their aptitudes and--something entirely different--of their readiness for mastery of the skills that they will need in English.

This is why, by the way, it is legitimate to take a flexible approach toward the three year transitional program anticipated by our state bilingual law. Some students are ready for mainstreaming (though they should have continuing support) in one or two years, while others may require four or five. A "lockstep" approach is inappropriate. The emphasis of Chapter 71A is on individual competency.

To assure that the needs of students who differ so greatly are met, an individual educational program should be developed for **every** student for whom the primary language spoken at home is not English, whether or not the student is assigned to a bilingual program. Holyoke refers to this as a "language and cognitive profile." At the time of the initial assessment of language dominance (when a student enters the system) a process should begin that will be periodically up-dated until the student graduates or leaves the system.

In ordinary practice, such assessments are an integral part of a "Lau Plan" for students enrolled in bilingual programs. What is proposed here goes farther: it would, for example, include all Hispanic students, not just the 32% statewide who are eligible for bilingual education, in a process of on-going monitoring of educational progress. A step in that direction is the current practice, in Worcester, of providing an annual update on academic performance of former bilingual program students to the program director. What is here proposed would require a more active collaboration of language development specialists and those responsible for education in general, and would include students never enrolled in a bilingual program.

There are several critical points at which such an individual program--including, of course, an assessment of academic strengths and weaknesses--should **without fail** be updated. One, as noted, is upon first entry to the school system. A second is toward the end of the three year period in a bilingual program, for those who are initially assigned to one and are not mainstreamed

earlier; this should be automatic, whether or not the student is ready to exit the program. A third, which could occur earlier or later than the second, is when the student is ready for mainstreaming, to determine what on-going language development support he or she will need.

The fourth point at which assessment and planning should without fail occur (it could of course coincide with one of the others) is when the student is ready to enter high school, and should assure participation in a course of study that will be sufficiently challenging, together with language development support as needed. The student should be a major participant in this stage of planning. Too many Hispanic students end up in a "low general" course of study because of language difficulties that bear little relation to their real abilities.

One of the recommendations of the National Commission on Secondary Education for Hispanics, in 1984, was that "the English proficiency of all students should be formally assessed before they go to high school. A pre-high school summer term and an intensive freshman-year supplementary program should be provided for students who are deficient in the use of English." This is discussed further, below, in point #5.

Simply assigning a student into a bilingual program at one point and out of that program a few years later is not adequate. Mastering a second language--which may also involve a second culture--is a complex and subtle learning process, and it should be an on-going responsibility of the school system, not limited to the years that a student may spend in a separate class.

Here I must add a disclaimer that should not be necessary. By using an approach that has proved its value in special education, I am not suggesting that speaking a language other than English is somehow a "handicapping condition," any more than we do so when using the term "mainstreaming." Last year I was accused of insulting Hispanic students by referring to full-time bilingual programs (without partial mainstreaming) as "substantially separate." These are simply descriptive terms, and it seems fruitless to add to the burden of educational jargon by coining new ones. Some linguistic minority students do have "special needs," of course, but I am not referring to them in particular.

2. Continuity of Study for "Transferring" Students

Students who have completed several years of formal schooling in another language (for example, in Puerto Rico or in a foreign country) should be allowed to continue their studies in that language while mastering English. Students who enter our schools in the third grade should not be mainstreamed to a regular class three years later with only a second grade knowledge of mathematics!

It was the needs of such students, more than of any other group, that were cited by advocates of passage of the Massachusetts Transitional Bilingual Education Act, in 1971, and the statute defined a TBE program as including instruction "in all those courses which a child is required by law to receive and which are required by the child's school committee which shall be given in the native language of the children of limited English-speaking ability who are enrolled in the program and also in English."

This requires a curriculum in the first language that closely parallels that which students in regular classes in the same school system are following. Without careful attention to parallel progress, students who are mainstreamed are very likely to run into academic difficulties.

3. Early Childhood Programs

As the Commonwealth implements its commitment to early childhood education, it is essential that programs prepare linguistic minority children for success in school. Part of this task involves social development, which it seems most appropriate to promote in the language spoken at home, for example in Spanish or Khmer. The child will make the transition to the structured environment of a classroom, and will learn to participate in group activities, to answer and ask questions, and to feel that sense of safety which is essential to further success if she is in contact with adults who speak the "mother tongue" and are in ready communication with the home. This seems a basic right that should be addressed as programs are implemented; - this will in turn require the identification and training of a large number of Hispanic and Asian early childhood educators.

There is disagreement among educators and researchers as to how early use of English should be introduced. Some would postpone it for several years to avoid confusion in the cognitive and linguistic development of the children; others believe that a carefully-structured program, as at the highly-regarded Escuelita Agueybana in Boston, can take advantage of the almost unlimited learning potential of young children to give them a sound basis in both languages and so foster true bilingualism. There was general agreement among educators consulted in the preparation of this report that early childhood programs for linguistic minority students must in any event avoid stunting their development by an exclusive reliance upon English.

In Springfield, the public schools reach out to pre-early childhood education children through their "Toddlers Program," which works with mothers of young children in their homes. This reflects a growing determination, on the part of the desegregating school systems in Massachusetts, to enlist parents in the stimulation and education of their children. Urban educators in Massachusetts are rejecting the social determinism that says that the school has to do everything, that poor parents, parents who may not speak English, parents who may be illiterate are not able to contribute to the development of the capacities of their children. Given the evidence that cognitive and linguistic development occur very early, our efforts should not be limited to what can take place within schoolhouses.

4. Transitional Bilingual Education

Massachusetts law makes wise provision for a three year period during which limited English-speaking students are provided a "compensatory program of transitional bilingual education" to "meet the needs of these children and facilitate their integration into the regular public school curriculum" [Section 1. **Declaration of Policy**].

The Board of Education, in its **Regulations** for implementation of this statute, has stated as the goal that

> Transitional Bilingual Education programs shall be designed and conducted so that

> students enrolled in such programs can achieve skills in aural comprehension, speaking, reading and writing of English sufficient to perform ordinary classwork in English within the three-year transitional period. [**Reg. 23**]

The Legislature included in the statute itself a requirement of accountability for **results**, specifying that

> An examination in the oral comprehension, speaking, reading and writing of English, as prescribed by the [State Department of Education], shall be administered annually to all children of limited English-speaking ability enrolled and participating in a program in transitional bilingual education. [Ch. 71A, sec.2]

It is of course essential that school systems assess the effectiveness with which their programs meet the stated objective, and modify any aspects that seem to get in the way of doing so. The current in-depth study of the Boston program should provide valuable clues as to why many students do not make the intended transition.

The rationale for teaching in the language of the home as part of the process of learning English is based upon the contention of some respected researchers that this will eventually result in higher-order thinking skills, and eventually proficiency in the second language. It is an attempt to avoid the tragedy of youth at the margins of two cultures, who have "no native language". Certainly experience suggests that individuals who have mastered any language thoroughly find it easier to become proficient in a second or third than those who have only the limited vocabulary and syntax of many working-class homes. By building on the most familiar language, these researchers and advocates believe, a competence can be developed that will transfer relatively easily to English.

While research evidence for this pedagogical model is conflicting and hotly disputed, there is no need to accept it in order to recognize the wisdom of providing a supportive environment for those linguistic minority students who come to school with little proficiency in English, within which they can continue learning in their native language while acquiring the basis for

mastery of English. The National Commission cited above comments that "Hispanic parents are staunch supporters of solid English instruction. What they do object to are instructional approaches to learning English that deprive their children of Spanish, which often is the language of communication in their families. Parents fear that they will not be able to guide their youth and pass on their values."

This must not lead to neglect of teaching English, of course. "A complaint the Commission heard frequently was that the schools have not been effective in teaching English, and that progress in improving English language teaching methods has been slow." Lack of effective teaching of English as a Second Language is in fact one of the allegations in the class action suit brought on behalf of Hispanic students in Lynn, and a primary finding of our recent Boston monitoring.

While such programs stress the value of the cultural heritage of the participants, they are not intended to promote separatism but rather to facilitate integration into American schooling and American society on the basis of equal worth and equal competence.

5. **Extra Developmental English as Necessary**

Some students, it is clear, are not ready to make the transition to a class in which instruction will be entirely in English after three years. For these students an individual assessment is essential, and a program of developmental English that will give them the capability to benefit from the range of educational opportunities available.

We should not be surprised that some students have such problems. After all, we do a poor job, in most American schools, teaching French or Spanish to native English-speakers! Were it not for an environment--including television--in which English is constantly inculcated, our efforts to teach English might meet with even less success.

We should, at least, learn from the experience of those programs that are most demonstrably successful in teaching foreign languages. A language should be taught by a native-speaker, if possible, and in the language being taught, using a carefully planned and

structured series of exercises. The time devoted to teaching English should be both ample and intensive. There is a place for "structured immersion" within a "bilingual" program!

This is, by the way, the method required by public policy and the consensus of educators in those nations of Western Europe that are seeking to meet the needs of millions of ethnic minority children whose parents came as "guest workers" and whose first language is not that of the host country. In France, Germany, the Netherlands the national language is taught by the "direct method," while supplemental (and optional) classes are offered to maintain the language and culture of the home. A recent government report on this issue in France has called for the abolishment of "educational ghettoes" for immigrant children and their full integration, with supplemental support as needed.

In order to realise this essential program, we will need to increase the supply of fully-trained teachers of English as a Second Language. Too many of those now providing ESL, according to the urban educators with which the draft report was reviewed, were assigned or "bumped" to that responsibility because they had certification at the appropriate grade level, without real training in the techniques of second-language learning.

6. Continuing Support for All Linguistic Minority Students

This recommendation is the heart of the program outlined. It is time that we face the fact that language acquisition is not a simple matter, so that a student is "incapable of ordinary classwork in English" one week and capable of it the next! Research has shown that a student may develop an apparent mastery of spoken English or of reading skills, functioning on a level with other third-graders, without having a foundation for the higher order skills that will be required in later grades. This verbal dexterity may lead to the judgment that the student requires no further assistance, thus preparing the way for later failure.

It is in recognition of this fact--either from the research or from hard experience--that the actual practice of bilingual educators across the

Commonwealth has tended to prolong the time that many students spend in separate programs. Students who may perform fairly well on standardized tests may not seem, to the experienced teacher, yet ready to keep up in a regular program without further support.

We have no business posing a stark alternative between a segregated program and integration with no support at all. Real mastery of a language cannot develop without a wide range of opportunities to use it in settings in which there is no alternative, outside of the shelter of a class for language-learning, and such experiences should begin as soon as possible. On the other hand, the degree of proficiency in English that makes such experiences productive is by no means a fully-developed competence, and the student who receives no continuing developmental support may fail to develop the "higher order skills" that are increasingly necessary at the secondary level.

This will require that, in addition to specialists in English as a Second Language, we will need regular classroom teachers with training in principles and techniques of language development. Professor Maria Brisk of Boston University has provided such in-service training for teachers in several Boston schools, to increase their ability to support and challenge students mainstreamed from bilingual programs.

We have heard again and again, from sincere and competent bilingual program teachers, that they hesitate to mainstream even those students whose language proficiency would justify that because of the attitudes of staff and the lack of support in the regular program. In part this reflects the lack of communication between bilingual and regular program teachers in many schools, a problem that must be resolved through joint educational planning with the principal serving as instructional leader for the entire school. To some extent, however, this hesitation is well-founded, and there are some schools where the bilingual program is the only place where Hispanic students are given a fair chance and expected to learn.

To recognize that the hesitation of many bilingual program staff to give up their students may be based, in some cases, on a valid perception of the alternative should not lead us to accept the existence of a "permanent track" for linguistic minority students.

The answer is not to keep the students separate, but to assure that integration is to their benefit. Anything less cheats them educationally while denying their Constitutional right to full integration and participation. It is difficult to see how this can become a reality without substantial involvement by bilingual program staff in planning and then in providing support within the regular educational program, and without solid training and orientation for regular program staff.

7. Flexible Movement between Integration and Separation

What would such a system of continuing support look like? One of its characteristics would be flexible movement for individual students between a more challenging environment and a more supportive environment, between classes in which a high standard of performance in English would be demanded, and classes or other educational settings in which the emphasis would be upon strengthening the basis for such performance, among other students facing similar problems and even anxieties.

Nearly twenty years ago I developed, as a consultant for the Boston Model Cities Administration, a plan for education for the growing Hispanic population in Jamaica Plain. The plan called for several "storefront" schools, located in the areas of Hispanic concentration, and serving up to sixty students at a time. Young or newly-arrived Hispanic children would receive, in these homelike settings and in Spanish, their first orientation to schooling. As they developed the skills and confidence to face greater challenges, they would attend a large school part-time and then full-time, returning to the "home base" only for optional language and cultural maintenance, and for counselling and encouragement. The storefront school would remain a permanent reference-point, and an option for a short-term "alternative" assignment for a student who, for whatever reason, needed a period of relief from the pressures of the regular school. It would thus evolve into a multi-age and distinctively Hispanic component of the educational system, with a concentration of support services; it would not pretend to offer a complete alternative course of study. Thus it could not become an "educational dead-end or permanent track."

That proposal met the fate of most Model Cities projects, and I would not seek to revive it now, but the need for centers of continuing support to meet the academic, cultural and emotional needs of Hispanic students continues to seem obvious.

8. No "Academic Dead-ends"

If adequate support were available on a flexible basis, through an individualized and frequently-updated educational plan, there would be less tendency to create a separate track for Hispanic students within a "transitional" bilingual program. Unlike "low general" tracks in some schools, the intention of bilingual programs is not to be a "dumping ground" for students not welcome in the mainstream, but unfortunately the result can be very much the same. A program that does not develop the skills--including but not limited to proficiency in English--for successful participation in the mainstream is an "academic dead-end," in the phrase used by the Supreme Court's **Lau** ruling, resulting in the denial of equal educational opportunity.

As one parent complained to the National Commission on Secondary Education for Hispanics, "Why should I encourage my children to stay in school if they have been in school for two to seven years and have not learned English?"

If mainstreaming without continuing support is an unacceptable option, so is a failure to mainstream students because of low expectations or an insufficiently challenging bilingual program.

9. Optional Language and Cultural Maintenance

In order to provide for real educational integration, we need to move from an emphasis on programs to one on entire schools, to the school as the broader context within which both challenge and support can be provided. We should create "bilingual schools" in which two languages and cultures are valued and taught, in which additional language and cultural maintenance in the "minority language" are an option for students

for whom that will be a bridge to their families and their ethnic identity, and in which the mastery of English-language skills is regarded as the key to further education and full participation in American society.

Such schools will need at least as many teachers and other staff with native competence in a language other than English as do separate bilingual programs, but they will need them to work as part of an integrated team with all of the students in the school.

By recognizing that optional language and cultural maintenance is a valid educational goal, we can treat it as one of the choices which, increasingly, we are learning to provide within public education in Massachusetts. [See our January 1986 report, **Family Choice and Public Schools.**] Several cities are now using Chapter 636 funds to support such programs, as well as parallel programs to teach a second language to students whose only language is English. It is essential, however, to avoid confusing such options with the acquisition of proficiency in English, which cannot be optional. Too often the two goals have become confused in public discussions of education for linguistic minority students.

In the Netherlands, which have a reputation for being particularly responsive to the needs of immigrants, the government will pay for 300 minutes of instruction a week in "native language and culture;" 150 minutes of this must be outside of regular school hours. France and Germany have bilateral agreements with a number of the nations from which "guest workers" come, to provide qualified teachers who provide optional language and cultural maintenance programs.

10. Regular Assessment of Progress--and Corrective Action

With this point we return to the first, in recognition that what is required above all is the willingness to treat each linguistic minority student as possessing unique strengths and unique needs, as representing a potential that cannot be defined or limited by ethnic heritage or by proficiency in English.

No student should be allowed to drift along within a program that provides support at the expense of appropriate educational challenges. Continual

assessment and appropriate modifications of the educational program of each student are essential. While there is far more to learn than the "basic skills" of reading, writing and mathematics, including two cultural heritages, it is fair to say that if they do not master both basic and higher-order skills during the years when we are responsible for their education, their later chances in life will be greatly diminished.

This requires, as one urban educator pointed out, that regular classroom teachers must develop the skills to recognize when a student's "floundering" is based upon lagging linguistic development rather than upon other learning difficulties.

The 1985 school reform legislation, Chapter 188, provides for annual assessment of the progress of all students under a new testing program. This could serve as a valuable opportunity to obtain uniform information on how well linguistic minority students are progressing toward a mastery of those skills essential for success in school and later life. Such an assessment should include both progress in English-language proficiency (as required by Chapter 71A, Section 2) **and also** progress in mastering the subject matter included in the curriculum. For students less than three years in a bilingual program, school systems should assess progress in subject matter mastery in the primary language of the students.

The issue here is one of our accountability. So long as we can plead ignorance of how well linguistic minority students are doing academically, we will not be accountable to them or to their parents, and we will not meet our moral and legal responsibility to provide an equal educational opportunity.

CONCLUSIONS

In brief, there are no grounds for complacency about our efforts, in Massachusetts, to meet the educational needs of linguistic minority students.

Our schools appear not to have provided the necessary mix of support and challenge, at least for Hispanic students, the only group for whom we have detailed statewide educational

results. Some of the same problems may be experienced by Cape Verdean and Haitian immigrants, whose numbers--like those of Hispanics--are growing rapidly.

Scattered evidence suggests that European immigrants do better academically, perhaps because they join well-assimilated ethnic communities deriving from the late nineteenth-century immigration.

It is too early to assess the experience of the new Southeast Asian refugees; indeed, we are still struggling to find classrooms and teachers for them. Some early indications suggest that many are "getting on their feet" academically, but a concerted effort will be needed over the next few years. We must above all take care not to repeat any mistakes that we may have made with groups that arrived earlier.

There are two general policy conclusions that may be drawn from this review. The first is that we must become much more clear about our expectations, much more willing to assess on an on-going basis how linguistic minority students are doing. It is unacceptable to deduce their educational difficulties from a high drop-out rate! Local and state accountability for results should become far more explicit.

The second is that the process of language acquisition is not a simple matter of learning to "get by," but requires on-going developmental support well beyond the period when a separate bilingual program is an appropriate placement. This means that the entire K-12 curriculum must provide opportunities to increase mastery of English, even for students for whom it is their "first language." English-dominance is not the same thing as a solid mastery of the language. The responsibility for promoting such mastery cannot be left to bilingual program staff alone.

Only by involving the whole educational team of a school--and ultimately of a school system--in developing an educational experience for each student that is both supportive and challenging can we provide real educational equity. Defining and treating students on the basis of language proficiency alone is bad education; doing so on the basis of ethnic identity alone is an even graver dereliction. Fundamental rights are at stake, and the old doctrine of "separate but equal" has no more place when applied to Hispanic or Asian students than when applied to Black students.

The solutions to the civil rights challenge represented by the growing presence in our schools of linguistic minority students will in the end be educational ones: **more effective assessment of needs and strengths, more effective teaching of English, and approaches to language and cultural maintenance that do not get in the way of full integration into American schooling and society.**

This challenge must be heard by those responsible for every aspect of our educational systems. Bilingual specialists will have a critical part to play in finding effective responses, and they need to learn to give leadership and to collaborate in problem-solving across the whole spectrum of education. It is encouraging that a former bilingual program director is now superintendent of one of our larger cities--John Correiro of Fall River--and that he is bringing staff out of that city's bilingual program into other roles within the system.

Ultimately we will develop the capacity to meet the leading educational equity challenge of our time through making linguistic minority students **everyone's responsibility.**

April 1986

BILINGUAL EDUCATION: AN EQUITY PERSPECTIVE

A major battle is shaping up over bilingual education, with preliminary skirmishes already taking place on two quite different terrains.

The first is essentially ideological, with one side insisting upon cultural assimilation in terms which have scarcely been heard since the "Americanization" debates of the first decades of this century, while the other demands with equal fervor that public education take on the mission of defining and promoting distinctive minority cultural identities. Each side accuses the other of being "politically motivated," though it is difficult to see why this should be thought of as pejorative in a democracy which makes decisions through an open political process!

Preliminary skirmishes are also occurring over research about language learning. One side claims that research demonstrates conclusively the importance of native-language instruction for ever-longer periods of time as the basis for learning English, while the other argues that "time on task" research shows that the best way to learn English is to spend as much time as possible studying English. On this terrain the supporters of bilingual education have an early advantage, since academics and researchers who make that a specialty have a natural inclination to find evidence which supports their conviction that it is a good thing; they have in fact developed interesting and sophisticated arguments for their position. Since there is a certain logical simplicity about their opponents' position, however, the struggle is by no means an uneven one.

My own perspective, as an equity professional, leaves me unsatisfied with the terms in which these preliminary skirmishes are being conducted, and particularly with the "all-or-nothing" spirit of those who would forbid teaching in any language but English (as several states, including Massachusetts, did at one time) or, on the other hand, prescribe unlimited- bilingual instruction for Hispanic students, even those for whom English is the first language.

Let me suggest an approach to the question which places equal educational opportunity for students in the center, in place of adult struggles over the meaning of American nationality and the merits of particular programs.

My background for these observations is fifteen years as director of equal educational opportunity in Massachusetts. I helped to draft our pioneering bilingual education law, set up the state's bilingual advisory council, and have participated in a number of bilingual program reviews as well as heading the "Lau" technical assistance unit for several years. I have visited hundreds of bilingual classrooms. I am not, however, a bilingual education expert nor manager of our state's program, but bring instead a civil rights perspective to the issue. I live in a predominantly Hispanic neighborhood, and have for much of the past twenty-five years belonged to churches with Hispanic congregations; thus I have watched several generations of Hispanic children whom I knew well pass through the schools, some with great success and others in frustration and defeat. That by itself would discourage me from any simple formula for equal educational opportunity for such students!

THREE BASIC PRINCIPLES

Our approach, in Massachusetts, to educational equity--including desegregation, the most controversial issue of all--seeks to promote a problem-solving spirit by reaching agreement on the underlying principles which any solution must satisfy. The three which follow have emerged out of a great deal of experience and reflection on the role of education in a pluralistic democracy.

The first is that the primary responsibility for a child's development including education, rests with the parents. "The child is not the mere creature of the State," as the Supreme Court observed in its 1925 ruling in Pierce v. Society of Sisters. This may seem obvious to us, but we must remember that there have been governments in other nations wich have asserted or acted upon the principle that the child does belong to the State.

We have public schools in order to make it possible for parents, whatever their circumstances and their own ability, to meet this responsibility. Since some parents, for one reason or another, do not meet their obligations, we protect children by requiring that they be educated, though not that they be educated in a public school if the parents are able to provide an equivalent alternative.

The second principle is that, because we consider education so significant that we are prepared to require it, we have a special responsibility, as a society, to assure that it is provided fairly. This means that we seek to provide the best possible education for each student. This cannot mean providing the same instruction and support for every student, but rather a diversity which responds to diverse needs and capacities, and which overcomes, so far as possible, any disabilities which result from race, poverty, or handicap.

The third principle is that there are certain things which every American child should learn, including various skills and essential knowledge about our common heritage. Here I would not go so far as Horace Mann and his fellow-reformers, who wished the schools to inculcate the same values in every student; that would infringe upon the rights of parents. We will always differ on many things, as a people, but those differences should not be founded upon ignorance of each other and of all that we share.

The structure of education, the ways in which we deliver educational services, should be directly subject to and serve these principles. No aspect of the present structure of education should be considered sacrosanct, but all should be open to testing by these three standards.

APPLICATION TO LINGUISTIC MINORITY STUDENTS

I will apply these three principles to the educational needs of linguistic minority students in reverse order.

To begin with, based on the third principle, we have a responsibility to assure that each student (except for the few prevented by some handicap) master those skills and those elements of our common heritage which are essential to participation in our society, our economy, and our political life. This mandate is the essence of the Supreme Court's Lau decision; education authorities must do whatever is necessary to assure that linguistic minority students learn English to a level of mastery which will assure that they are not denied equal opportunities in education and in life.

The emphasis is on results; that is, it is not enough that schools go through the motions of providing a bilingual program or a program of English as a Second Language, if such a program does not achieve results. What is more, as bilingual education advocates point out, students need to

acquire "higher order skills" in English as well as the ability to pass vocabulary tests.

In addition to language skills, linguistic minority students need to develop an understanding of the political and cultural heritage of our society. Note that I am not calling for any kind of indoctrination, but simply for assuring that no student come out of school in ignorance of those convictions, those traditions, and those habits of common life which enable Americans to live together as a free society.

For anyone who cares about the rights of Hispanic and other linguistic minority students, nothing less than this is acceptable. In particular, the argument that schools should teach some form of "ethnic identity" is patronizing and ultimately disciminatory--and,incidentally, is more appealing to professionals than to parents. What parents by and large demand, and what students deserve, is an education which provides that mastery of skills and self-discipline which is essential to a successful adulthood.

FAIRNESS

The second principle, that of fairness, requires the most effective education possible for each student, taking into account her abilities and interests, but never making the assumption that either of these is limited because of the initial handicap of trying to acquire two languages at once. Fairness requires that we avoid premature judgments about the potential of linguistic minority students, and that we assume that many of them can do outstanding academic work if given the right support.

Fairness also requires that we individualize, so far as possible, the instructional program for each student. Instruction and support in their native language is valuable for students at whatever age they first enter a school in the United States. Many students benefit from moving fairly quickly into an instructional program which is predominantly in English, while others need a longer time in their native language before they are ready for this. Even the first group, however, will benefit from some ongoing support in their native language, as well as special efforts to deepen their grasp of English.

Each linguistic minority student should have an individual educational plan, updated every year that he is in school,

with appropriate extra support to achieve his potential continuing long after he has been "mainstreamed" from a bilingual program.

In a sense, we need to find that mixture of safety and challenge which is best for each student. Anyone who has really mastered a second language knows that it is not simply an incremental process; there comes a point when a sort of leap must be taken, and those who fail to do so never "get inside" the new language.

PARENTAL RESPONSIBILITY

The principle of parental responsibility for education has particular relevance to the cultural mission of schooling. Those who stress the need to "Americanize" linguistic minority students by a process of cultural indoctrination are, ironically, often strong advocates of "family values." It is equally ironical, however, that those who wish the schools to preserve minority identities from the acids of the surrounding culture are often strong advocates of "parent power."

Parents should be allowed to choose whether their children will be encouraged to assimilate or to preserve a distinct ethnic identity. Within every immigrant group which has come to this country, parents have differed over what was best for their children. It is not the business of government or of officious professionals to decide this for all children of a particular ethnic group. Enough if we can assure that each student learn the necessary skills and elements of our common heritage, and go beyond that minimum to an extent which equitably corresponds to his abilities and interests.

In practice what this requires is that we offer more diversity than at present within public schooling. It should be possible for a parent to choose between two programs which are equally effective in teaching the essential common elements of education, and equally responsive to individual needs and strengths, which take very different appoaches to the teaching of culture and values.

This is not generally possible today. In Massachusetts, for example, state law permits parents to choose whether their children will be enrolled in a bilingual program or not, but if they decide against the bilingual program there is in general no support at all available for the learning of

English as a second language. It is simply "all or nothing."

If the choice were not simply between a bilingual/bicultural program and "submersion"in a regular class, parents would be able to make the choices about their children's education which only they are entitled to make. They should feel assured that the education of their children will not suffer in either case, that a bilingual program will not be the "academic deadend" against which the Lau decision warned, and that the alternative will not be "sink or swim."

Parent choice is a major element in our educational equity strategy in Massachusetts, with some thirty thousand students attending desegregated schools which their parents have chosen because of some particular educational theme or approach. We are still in the early stages of assuring that such choices are fully available to students who require language support; too often the choice is between a magnet program and a bilingual program. The challenge which we face is to develop educational options which will offer real choice to the linguistic minority parent, including schools with a strong ethnic flavor (several already in operation are very attractive to Anglo parents as an opportunity for cultural enrichment!), on the one hand, and schools which provide strong language-development programs (including support as necessary in the native language) without stressing cultural maintenance, on the other. This would provide real control for parents.

SUMMARY

We should not abandon the generous vision which led to the adoption of laws providing for bilingual education and other special support in Massachusetts and other states, a vision which affirmed the validity of other languages and cultures as vehicles for learning. It is time that we begin to apply general equity principles, however. This requires that we stress that linguistic minority children have a right to be given effective help to learn those skills which are essential to adult life, in ways and to an extent which recognize individual ability and interests rather than ethnic categories, while at the same time schooling responds to the educational objectives of parents.

This means, above all, that we need to take a much more pragmatic approach; free from the ideological commitments which are so evident in present debates over bilingual

education. We need to find flexible and powerful instructional strategies for the acquisition of the essentials of an education for our day and society, while avoiding an educational lock-step or the temptation to indoctrinate children contrary to their parents' wishes. This may well be the most important civil rights issue in education in the eighties.

Charles L. Glenn

November 1985

"Two-Way" Bilingual Education

by Dr. Charles Glenn

Editor's Note: *Dr. Charles Glenn, state equal educational opportunity director, recently addressed several hundred representatives of a dozen Massachusetts cities which are desegregating their schools, on the subject of "two-way" bilingual education in Holyoke, MA.*

In Massachusetts we can take legitimate pride in the way that we—urban school systems and the Commonwealth—have tackled two of the major challenges in the education of poor and minority children. One is to assure that these children are not isolated from other children in their educational experiences, the other is to assure that they receive instruction which takes into account their native language development. Our state laws requiring desegregation and bilingual education, and the steady pressure of their enforcement, are a national model. So is the creativity and determination with which school systems (though not without initial resistance) have implemented them.

By "two-way" bilingual education we mean the program of a school in which linguistic-minority children are learning English while continuing instruction in their native language, as provided by the transitional bilingual education law. At the same time children who speak English at home are studying in English while also learning the language of the other children. Such a school allows linguistic-minority children to continue to receive instruction in their native language throughout their course of study. It also encourages their integration at a much earlier point with students whose first language is English. In effect, it makes the concept of "mainstreaming" much more flexible; students are being mainstreamed from the start, yet they are never cut off completely from the bilingual program. To achieve such a flexible program it is necessary to combine reimburse ments under the bilingual education program (Chapter 71A) with funding available for desegregation (Chapter 636). Such schools are operational and under continuing development in Boston, Cambridge, Holyoke, Lawrence, Springfield and Worcester, and other cities are exploring the concept.

Here are five emerging problems of public education which we can begin to respond to in a powerful way through "two-way" bilingual education:

(1) The civil rights issue of the 1980s is providing an effective education in those urban schools which most minority and poor children attend. Such effective education is produced by energy and problem-solving at the school level, but state regulations and requirements, while they can prevent some abuses, are powerless to elicit those qualities. Anyone who is in the equal opportunity business (which is all of us in public education) must be concerned about finding ways to encourage city schools to move beyond the routine implementation of desegregation and bilingual education requirements. By making bilingual education the business of every teacher in a school, and attracting children whose first language is English because their parents want them to have a bilingual and bicultural education, we can offer the challenge of excellence where no one seems to expect it, in urban schools. We can develop urban schools which are more exciting educationally than a homogeneous suburban school can be, and perhaps we can make the city a magnet again for middle class parents.

(2) Public schools are going to have to come to terms with the expectation of parents that they will be able to make choices about their children's education, or we will find ourselves educating only those who have no choice. Our experience in Massachusetts is that parents are eager to exercise choice within public education, and that doing so increases their satisfaction with and commitment to public schools. Broadening our understanding of bilingual education to include any child whose parents want it is a way of turning a "liability"—the many children we must educate whose first language is not English—into one of the primary resources for a revival of public education.

(3) We need to become more effective at following up on the education of students who have completed bilingual programs, or were never in them, but whose home language is not English. In many cities this group makes up the bulk of the "over age underachievers" for whom schooling is not a success. Part of the problem, is that the extensive support system provided to students in bilingual programs is abruptly withdrawn when they are mainstreamed. In a "two-way" bilingual school it would be taken for granted that every student required language support and stimulation in two languages, that every student was experiencing cultural shock and in need of sensitive attention.

(4) We have come to see, in recent years, that the image of a "melting-pot" was inappropriate; that our democracy functions well because it is pluralistic and permits a wide range of approaches to identity and purpose. We have no state church to impose a single form of belief, and our social cohesion is a cohesion of groups which form around common interests, beliefs, ethnic identities and loyalties which in no sense detract from that to the nation as a whole. Public education, despite recent lip-service to multicultural approaches, has been slow to reflect the healthy pluralism of our society. "Two-way" bilingual schools will not be for everyone, but they can help to create new linkages between parents of different ethnic and linguistic identities who share a commitment to real multiculturalism and mutual respect. Together with other distinctive magnet schools, they can help to make public education healthier and less monopolistic.

(5) Anyone who visits many urban schools will notice the separation between students in bilingual and students in "regular" education, a separation which usually extends to their teachers as well. While the transitional bilingual law calls for scheduling common activities, all too often the reality is what I observed in one school: a sign greeted me on the second floor, where the nonbilingual classes were located, "Welcome to another world!" A "two-way" bilingual school is, by definition, a school in which children have something to learn from one another and every teacher has something to share with every child.

One of those powerful ideas which sometimes strike many people at the same time, "two-way" bilingual education is an exciting frontier for equal educational opportunity.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

HISPANIC ENROLLMENT IN SELECTED SCHOOL SYSTEMS

	October 1984	System %	October 1985	System %	Change 84-85
Boston	10,122	17%	10,438	17%	316
Springfield	5,799	25%	5,874	26%	75
Lawrence	4,117	47%	4,776	51%	659
Holyoke	2,687	41%	3,038	44%	351
Worcester	2,565	13%	2,789	14%	224
Lowell	1,574	13%	1,710	14%	136
New Bedford	1,093	8%	1,083	8%	-10
Brockton	899	6%	1,051	7%	152
Cambridge	804	10%	859	11%	55
Lynn	871	8%	856	8%	-15
Salem	328	8%	447	11%	119
Statewide	41,609	5%	44,493	5%	2,884

ASIAN ENROLLMENT IN SELECTED SCHOOL SYSTEMS

	October 1984	System %	October 1985	System %	Change 84-85
Boston	4,310	7%	4,719	8%	409
Lowell	703	6%	1,086	9%	383
Worcester	426	2%	468	2%	42
Cambridge	389	5%	440	6%	51
Revere	255	5%	364	8%	109
Brockton	274	2%	301	2%	27
Lynn	186	2%	284	3%	98
Lawrence	212	2%	251	3%	39
Springfield	172	1%	181	1%	9
Statewide	15,900	1.8%	18,014	2.1%	2,114